

Only Way To Advance People's Cause

Indian politics is plunged in a crisis today unprecedented in magnitude and severity in the four decades since independence. With allout capitalist crises engulfing the ruling bourgeoisie from all sides and its most trusted political agent, the Congress(I), being torn with internal squabbles, and the most corrupt and reactionary Rajiv Gandhi Government thoroughly discredited in the eyes of the people, the hour was most opportune for advancing the people's cause by building up mighty democratic mass movements against the anti-people policies and fascist onslaughts of this Government. But lack of unity among the Opposition parties is preventing broadbased countrywide movements to grow to protect the people's interest. Why is Opposition unity failing to grow? This is the question stirring the mind of all well-meaning and democratic minded people in this country today.

Whereas, the reality of the prevailing situation is such that no disagreement can there be on the vital and most urgent need of the hour at the people's end. Savage capitalist exploitation has crippled life in every sphere. The economic-fiscal policies of the Central and State Governments, resulting in mounting taxation and continuous spiralling of prices of all commodities,

On the other, rampant corruption has percolated into every level. Never before had the people been aggrieved so much and their patriotic feelings hurt so deeply as now following the recent exposure of high corruption in the Bofors guns and West German submarines deals and the illegal transfer of black-money to the tune of Rs. 1300 crore at least to foreign banks — instances

affliction to leave the people in shambles. Draconian powers are being concentrated in the Executive to suppress the people's discontent. The ruling class and the ruling party are committing the Judiciary and the Administration to safeguarding their interest. Fascist onslaughts are being mounted one after another to curtail the freedom of the Press and through recourse to a host of policies and measures including new National Policy on Education, a blue print of fascism, Rajiv Gandhi's party and government are driving the country towards allout fascism. Fostering, fomenting, aiding and abetting the casteist, communal, parochial, divisive, separatist forces directly or indirectly to divide the people's unity against the capitalist exploitation and oppression is the other weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie and the Central Congress(I) Government to foist allout

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Gorbachev—Reagan Summit

After the three-day summit between Reagan and Gorbachev in Washington, a treaty between the two countries was signed on 7th December in which the two countries agreed to dismantle the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) or Euro-missiles which constitute only 5 percent of the staggering 48,000 nuclear missiles in their possession. It has been reported in the press that in June next year, another treaty, for a 50 percent reduction of ICBM (Inter Continental Ballistic Missiles) i.e. long-range missiles will be signed in Moscow before Reagan retires from the presidential position. All over the world, a euphoria was generated by press publicity projecting it as a great step towards prevention of nuclear holocaust and for world peace.

We can understand the reason if we keep in mind the facts that in Europe the cold war between the imperialist bloc and the socialist camp led to

(Contd. on page 5)

First All India Party Congress of SUCI at CALCUTTA

25th to 29th March, 1988
Delegate Session at Mahajati Sadan

4th April, 1988—Open Session
at Brigade Parade Ground, Calcutta

have brought them into ruins and destitution. Unemployment, already in terrible dimensions, is on further rise following computerisation in particular in industries. While this savage fleecing of the people goes on, huge sums are being given to the capitalists as subsidies and subventions in budgets while the economy has been sagging irreversibly, expenditure on the military head is going up skyhigh.

which provide but a glimpse of the pervasive corruption among the leaders of the ruling party and the administrative highups. Any government having least regard for democratic norms and practice would have resigned in the face of such exposure, but Rajiv Gandhi and his party are sticking to power most shamelessly to hide their crime.

Economic destitution is by no means the only

fascism on the country.

In this circumstance, when the indisputable need is to build up countrywide surges of legitimate democratic mass movements to force the Central Congress (I) Government headed by Rajiv Gandhi to revoke its anti-people fascist policies, it is a reality that no single opposition party has the strength or ability to

(Contd. on page 4)

Comrade Shankar Singh Condemns murder of Comrade Dayal Modi

Com. Shankar Singh, Member, Central Committee and Secretary, Bihar State Committee of SUCI, has issued the following statement on 15 December, 1987, condemning the brutal murder of Com. Shankar Dayal Modi, Secretary of Party's Bhagalpur District Unit.

"Some anti-socials, in clear connivance with the local police of Shambhuganj, Bhagalpur, shot dead Com. Shankar Dayal in the afternoon of 10th December last, when he was on his way to the local party office along with some other members of the party.

It is well known in the locality that notorious anti-socials like Govind Singh, Sakur Mia, Bijay Shah along with local police zamadar Deb Singh, have since long been engaged in carrying out various anti-social activities which were being consistently opposed by Com. Shankar Dayal and the Shambhuganj Unit of our Party.

The reluctance and inefficiency on the part of the higher administration to act in time in spite of repeated notices given to them by Com. Shankar Dayal against the criminal moves and designs of these anti-socials is highly condemnable.

We demand immediate arrest of the culprit police zamadar directly involved in perpetration of this ghastly crime just in front of the Shambhuganj Police Station and exemplary punishment to him and all others involved in the crime and also adequate compensation to the poor family of Com. Shankar Dayal."

(Detailed report, next issue)

PRINCIPLES OF PARTY ORGANISATION

Under the leadership of Comrade Lenin the Third Congress of the Communist International was held in 1921. The 'Thesis on the Organisation of the Communist Parties', drafted under the guidance of Comrade Lenin, was passed at the Congress.

"The organisation of the Communist Party is the organisation of Communist leadership in the Proletarian Revolution"—formulating this fundamental concept and elaborating it in the minutest detail Lenin as the teacher and leader of the international Communist movement, provided invaluable guideline to the world proletariat.

On the occasion of the ensuing Historic First Party Congress of our beloved Party the SUCI we like to reproduce the thesis in order to re-read, re-learn and thereby to further improve our understanding of the principles of party organisation. It will be published in instalments.

—Ed. Proletarian Era



Organisation And Structure Of The Communist Party

1. GENERAL PRINCIPLES

VANGUARD OF THE PROLETARIAT

1. The organisation of the Party must be adapted to the conditions and to the goal of its activity. The Communist Party must be the *vanguard, the advanced post of the proletariat*, through all the phases of revolutionary class struggle and during the subsequent transition period towards the realisation of Socialism, i.e., the first stage of the Communist society.

2. There can be no absolutely infallible and unalterable form of organisation for the Communist Parties. The conditions of the proletarian class struggle are subject to changes in a continuous process of evolution, and in accordance with these changes, the organisation of the proletarian vanguard must be constantly seeking for the corresponding forms. The peculiar conditions of every individual country likewise determine the special adaptation of the forms of organisation of the respective Parties.

But this differentiation has definite limits. Regardless of all peculiarities, the equality of the conditions of the proletarian class struggle in the various countries and through the various phases of the proletarian revolution is of fundamental importance to the International Communist movement, creating a common basis for the organisation of the Communist Parties in all countries.

Upon this basis, it is necessary to develop the organisation of the Communist Parties but not to seek to establish any new model parties instead of the existing ones and to aim at any absolutely correct form of organisation and ideal constitutions.

INSTRUMENT OF THE REVOLUTION

3. Most Communist Parties, and consequently the Communist International as the united party of the revolutionary proletariat of the world, have this common feature in their conditions of struggle, that they still have to fight against the dominant bourgeoisie. To conquer the bourgeoisie and to wrest the power from its hands is for all of them, until further developments, the determining and guiding main goal. Accordingly, the determining factor in the organising activity of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries must be the upbuilding of such organisations as will make the victory of the proletarian revolution over the possessing classes both possible and secure.

ORGANISATION OF LEADERS

4. Leadership is a necessary condition for any common action, but most of all it is indispensable in the greatest fight in the world's history. The organisation of the Communist Party is the organisation of Communist leadership in the proletarian revolution.

To be a good leader, the Party itself must have good leadership. Accordingly the principal task of our organisational work must be—education, organisation and training of efficient Communist Parties under capable directing organs to the leading place in the proletarian revolutionary movement.

5. The leadership in the revolutionary class struggle presupposes the organic combination of the greatest possible striking force and of the greatest adaptability on the part of the Communist Party and its leading organs to the ever-changing conditions of the struggle. Furthermore, successful leadership requires absolutely the closest association with the proletarian masses. Without such association, the leadership will not lead the masses, but at best, will follow behind the masses.

The organic unity in the Communist Party organisation must be attained through democratic centralisation.

II. ON DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISATION

WHAT IT IS NOT

6. Democratic centralisation in the Communist Party organisation must be a real synthesis, a fusion of centralism and proletarian democracy. This fusion can be achieved only on the basis of constant common activity, constant common struggle of the entire Party organisation. Centralisation in the Communist Party organisation does not mean formal and mechanical centralisation but a centralisation of Communist activities, that is to say, the formation of a strong leadership, ready for war and at the same time capable of adaptability. A formal or mechanical centralisation is the centralisation of the 'power' in the hands of an industrial bureaucracy, dominating over the rest of the membership or over the masses of the revolutionary proletariat standing outside the organisation. Only the enemies of the Communists can assert that the Communist Party conducting the proletarian class struggle and centralising the Communist leadership is trying to rule over the revolutionary proletariat. Such an assertion is a lie. Neither is any

(Contd. on page 3)

PRINCIPLES OF PARTY ORGANISATION

(Contd. from page 2)

rivalry for power nor any contest for supremacy within the Party at all compatible with the fundamental principles of democratic centralism adopted by the Communist International.

NEITHER BUREAUCRACY NOR FORMAL DEMOCRACY

In the organisation of the old, non-revolutionary labour movement, there has developed an all-pervading dualism of the same nature as that of the bourgeois state, namely, the dualism between the bureaucracy and the 'people'. Under this baneful influence of bourgeois environment there has developed a separation of functions, a substitution of barren, formal democracy for the living association of common endeavour and the splitting up of the organisation into active functionaries and passive masses. Even the revolutionary labour movement inevitably inherits this tendency to dualism and formalism to a certain extent from the bourgeois environment.

The Communist Party must fundamentally overcome these contrasts by systematic and persevering political and organising work and by constant improvement and revision.

7. In transforming a Socialist mass party into a Communist Party, the Party must not confine itself to merely concentrating the authority in the hands of its central leadership while leaving the old order unchanged. Centralisation should not merely exist on paper, but be actually carried out, and this is possible of achievement only when the members at large will feel this authority as a fundamentally efficient instrument in their common activity and struggle. Otherwise, it will appear to the masses as a bureaucracy within the Party and, therefore, likely to stimulate opposition to all centralisation, to all leadership, to all stringent discipline. Anarchism is the opposite pole of bureaucracy.

Merely formal democracy in the organisation cannot remove either bureaucratic or anarchical tendencies, which have found fertile soil on the basis of just that democracy. Therefore, the centralisation of the organisation, i.e., the aim to create a strong leadership, cannot be successful if its achievement is sought on the basis of formal democracy. The necessary preliminary conditions are the development and maintenance of living associations and mutual relations within the Party between the directing organs and members, as well as between the Party and the masses of the proletariat outside the Party.

III. ON THE DUTIES OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITY FIRST DUTY OF A MEMBER

8. The Communist Party must be a training school for revolutionary Marxism. The organic ties between the different parts of the organisation and the membership become joined through the daily common work in the Party activities.

Regular participation on the part of most of the members in the daily work of the parties is lacking even today in lawful Communist Parties. That is the chief fault of these parties, forming the basis of constant insecurity in their development.

9. In the first stages of its Communist transformation every workmen's party is in danger of being content with

having accepted a Communist programme, with having substituted the old doctrine in its propaganda by Communist teachings and having replaced the officials belonging to the hostile camp by Communist officials. The acceptance of the Communist programme is only the expression of the will to become a Communist. If the Communist activity is lacking and the passivity of the mass members still remains, then the Party does not fulfil even the least part of the pledge it had taken upon itself in accepting the Communist programme. *For the first condition of an earnest carrying out of the programme is the participation of all the members in the constant daily work of the Party.*

The art of Communist organisation lies in the ability of making a use of each and every one for the proletarian class struggle; of distributing the Party work amongst all the Party Members and of constantly attracting through its members ever wider masses of the proletariat to the revolutionary movement. Further it must hold the direction of the whole movement in its hands not by virtue of its might, but by its authority, energy, greater experience, greater all-round knowledge and capabilities.

10. A Communist Party must strive to have only really active members, and to demand from every rank and file Party worker, that he should place his whole strength and time, in so far as he can himself dispose of it under existing conditions at the disposal of his Party and devote his best forces to these services.

Membership in the Communist Party entails naturally, besides Communist convictions, formal registration, first as a candidate, then as a member, likewise, the regular payment of the established fees, the subscription to the Party paper, etc. But the most important is the participation of each member in the daily work of the Party.

EVERY MEMBER IN A PARTY UNIT

11. For the purpose of carrying out the Party work every member must as a rule be also a member of a working smaller group, a committee, a commission, a broad group, fraction or nucleus. Only in this way can the Party work be properly distributed, directed and carried on.

Attendance at the general meeting of the members of the local organisation, of course, goes without saying; it is not wise to try, under conditions of legal existence, to replace these periodical meetings under lawful conditions by meetings of local representatives. All the members must be bound to attend these meetings regularly. But that is in no way sufficient. The very preparation of these meetings presupposes work in smaller groups or through comrades detailed for the purpose, effectively utilising as well as the preparations of the general workers' meetings, demonstrations and mass action of the working class. The numerous tasks connected with these activities can be carefully studied only in smaller groups, and carried out intensively. Without such a constant daily work of the entire membership divided among the great mass of smaller groups of workers even the most laborious endeavours to take part in the class struggle of the proletariat will lead only to weak and futile attempts to influence these struggles, but not to the necessary consolidation of all the vital revolutionary forces of the proletariat into a single united capable Communist Party.

(Contd. on page 6)

Only Way to Advance People's Cause

(Contd. from page 1)

launch such powerful and sustained movements on its own. Unity of the opposition parties and united broadbased movements are, therefore, essential in order to change the situation in favour of the people. Every serious student of history knows that divergent political parties and forces can be united on common minimum programme and code of conduct against the main enemy. If people's struggle committees are built up from the grassroot level as people's own instruments of struggle on this principled basis then these bodies can act as watchdogs to prevent betrayals by individual leaders or parties in the united struggle and mighty movements can be developed to achieve the desired goal. Did not the communists fight unitedly with the Buddhists in the liberation struggle in South Vietnam against the US aggressors? History is replete with such instances.

At the same time it should be realized that while a countrywide broad-based united democratic mass movement can bring about fall of the Rajiv Government at the Centre, the people must have a clear idea about the means to ensure a pro-people government as alternative to it.

In the parliamentary election of 1977, the Congress led by late Indira Gandhi had suffered an ignominious defeat and the Janata Party was saddled in power. Were the problems in the people's life solved thereby? Rather, the Janata Government had pursued more or less the same anti-people policies as had done the Indira Gandhi Government. As a result, frustration had set in in the people's mind. It should also be realized that mere change of government at elections cannot bring about solution to the basic problems in people's life. Can elections, especially in the way elections are held these days in this country, cure the social maladies crippling the people's life? Can an alterna-

tive government foisted on the people as part of the bourgeois conspiracy of installing the two-party parliamentary system fulfil the hopes and needs of the people?

The only way to advance the people's cause and safeguard their interest is, therefore, to build up united struggles and develop people's struggle committees from the grass root level in order that these can act as watch dogs. If elections come as a development incidental to the movement, only then the power of movement can ensure pro-people measures and relative democratic functioning by an alternative government and provide some relief to the people and a breathing space to pave way for growth of broader and higher movements in the next phase.

With this call for united struggle, our party has been approaching all the left, democratic and opposition parties time and again. Our beloved leader and General Secretary, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, has recently met leaders of the Opposition parties individually, urging them to build the broadest possible unity irrespective of political views and creeds and launch an allout movement against the anti-people and fascist policies of the Rajiv Gandhi Government. No tangible response has come from them, in particular from those claiming to be leftists.

The tragedy is that all the opposition parties are talking of the need to forge unity but they are not coming out to make it a reality. Certain parties are raising the question of leadership in such a way that it is preventing the growth of a healthy atmosphere conducive to growth of unity. Personal factors are taking precedence over the priority of upholding the people's cause.

In such a situation, the parties claiming to be Leftist had all the more a

greater responsibility to forge the broadest possible unity to restore, preserve and extend the democratic rights of the people, fighting against the fascist onslaughts of the Rajiv Gandhi Government. But the attitude and approach of the CPI(M) in particular stands as the stumbling block on way to achieving it. Both the CPI(M) and CPI are making the communal character of the BJP an issue to refuse alliance with the latter. As if they are raising the issue from a principled stand and a grave concern at the growing trend of communalism, parochialism, separatism in the country. But leaving aside the cases of clandestine agreement, did not the CPI(M) and the CPI make electoral alliance with the BJP only recently at the Assembly elections in Haryana and Karnataka? Is not the front led by the CPI(M) sticking to power in the Calcutta Corporation body on the support of the two BJP councillors in it? Is it then that these two parties have no qualms to make electoral alliance with the communal BJP for political expediency of winning seats at elections but they are repulsed by the same BJP when the question of building movements to uphold the people's cause arises?

It is also wellknown that only a few months back, after winning victory in the West Bengal and Kerala Assembly elections, Jyoti Basu and other CPI(M) leaders had categorically declared that there was no alternative to Rajiv Gandhi at the Centre. Today the CPI(M) has raised the demand for resignation of Rajiv Gandhi and fresh elections to Lok Sabha. A question, therefore, arises: What is the reason of this peculiar behaviour of the CPI(M)? If they want to fight against the corrupt and reactionary Rajiv Gandhi Government at the Centre, then why are not they taking the initiative to build up the broadest possible unity of the Opposition? The CPI(M) and its allies are well aware that except in West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura

where they are in power, they do not have cognizable organisational strength in the other states. They cannot build up movements on the all India plane on their own. Answer to these questions would become clear if the perspective of the present crisis of the ruling bourgeoisie be kept in view.

Today it is clear to all discerning people that after the assassination of Indira Gandhi, the ruling bourgeoisie had sought to project the image of Rajiv Gandhi as the new saviour of the country with the object of maintaining its class rule in the midst of the allout crisis of capitalism. Within only 3 years of rule, the halo created around Rajiv Gandhi has been lost and the bourgeoisie has become apprehensive about the fast erosion of the people's trust in Rajiv Gandhi and his party. The ruling class, from its lack of trust in the ability of this inept leadership to run the Government of this vast and problem ridden country, is obviously in search of an alternative which may be made acceptable to the people. Considering the assurances given by Chief Minister Jyoti Basu to the owners at a joint meeting of the Bharat Chamber of Commerce and the Bengal Chamber of Commerce before the last Assembly elections in West Bengal and credentials earned by the party from the leading monopoly houses in the country, it becomes clear that whereas the CPI(M) is trying to curry favour with the bourgeoisie, the ruling class is also keeping a close attention on the CPI(M). It is for this reason that the CPI(M) is trying to project itself before the eyes of the ruling class instead of forging unity of the Opposition. At the same time it becomes clear in this background why the recent 'Left' rally in New Delhi received such widespread publicity in the bourgeois press and other mass media.

The CPI(M) is arguing that it is against unity

with the communal parties and that it stands for unity with left, democratic and secular parties and forces. Then why does it not want unity with the SUCI to build up democratic mass movements? Does the CPI(M) consider the SUCI a communal or parochial party? In the past, they were in unity with the SUCI, but today they are not willing to accept the SUCI as a partner. Is it because the CPI(M) is in governmental power in 3 states with the patronage of the ruling class and the party will lose this favour if it accepts the SUCI as a partner?

Nobody can deny that the Congress(I) is the main enemy today before the people. The role of the branded communal parties is known to all. But it is the Congress(I) which is the main architect of the communal, parochial, divisive, separatist flounders in the country today. The Congress(I) is the main agent acting for the ruling class to bring in fascism in this country. So the indisputable task for all the Opposition parties and the people at large is to fight unitedly against the anti-people and fascist policies and measures of the Congress(I) led by Rajiv Gandhi. We appeal to the rank and file of all the left, democratic and opposition parties and urge the people to be aware of the veritable menace of allout fascism looming over the horizon in this country and rise to the occasion. They must now shake off all apathy, indifference and inertia and must step out to unite and build up struggle committees at every level and initiate countrywide mighty democratic mass movements to defeat the fascist menace and advance the cause of the masses.

Gorbachev—Reagan Summit

(Contd. from page 1)

missile fencings surrounding different countries the people of which have hardly been relieved of the colossal trauma of the last two world wars. Moreover, whereas earlier all Soviet attempts for even non-proliferation, not to speak of disarmament, had failed to gain ground with the US war mongers, peace-loving people this time may feel quite naturally that this treaty, whatever the limit of achievement, may open up a new vista towards total disarmament. Let us see what are the real prospects of the treaty and how far this hope is justified?

The attempt for reduction of nuclear arms got a momentum after Mikhail Gorbachev became the General Secretary of the CPSU. Before the agreement was signed, the previous summits in Geneva and Rykjavik failed because the USA did not agree to the pre-condition of keeping the SDI (Strategic Defence Initiative), popularly known as Star War device, confined to laboratory for 10 or at least 7 years. This time there was no Soviet pre-condition. So the USA can well continue the SDI.

THE AGREEMENT—ITS INTENT AND PURPOSE

By this treaty, both the super powers decided to dismantle the Euro-missiles empowering both sides to inspect over each other's actual dismantling. But what is the actual situation? Even if it is supposed that the treaty will be fully implemented, what will be the gain for peace and against war?

It is known to all that the question of war and peace is not an isolated one, nor can it be studied in isolation from the obtaining international situation since war does not break out at the instance of some individual's whims and caprices but because of specific socio-economic and political factors. So, preservation of peace is also impossible only through the effort and initiative of some individual statesmen without objectively preparing and strengthening the forces of peace. Marxism-Leninism has left to us rich analysis on this question. Comrade Lenin pointed out that war is the continuation of politics by

other means of the imperialist powers. In other words, the imperialist countries resort to war in order to divide and redivide their respective share of world market among themselves, each with an eye to seize bigger chunk for itself. As long as imperialism exists, so also exists its crisis of market and hence the inevitability of war. Com. Stalin reiterated this teaching even in the post-second world war situation declaring that Lenin's thesis on inevitability of war under imperialism is still valid. Our most beloved leader and teacher Com. Shibdas Ghosh, in continuation to this, further elaborated that in the present world situation, the possibility of outbreak of war as well as that of preservation of peace are both equally real. While the existence of imperialism as a world system and the continuously rehearsed war games provocation, arms deal etc. make the threat of war—partial or total, short-lived or long, direct or by proxy, whatever the case—a cognizable reality on the one hand, on the other the existence of the socialist camp with its mighty capacity to contend with imperialism in terms of arms even, the emergence of a host of new bourgeois national states requiring peace for their development and hence working for peace, as well as the irresistible desire for peace of the world people as a whole constitute the vast contingent of peace force to reckon with. However, which of the possibilities will materialise depends on, as Comrade Ghosh rightly warned long back, whether the leadership of socialist countries and the international Communist movement understand this situation and build up mighty peace movement on

the one hand and strengthen revolutionary movement on the other and lastly back all diplomatic moves for peace with the imperialist powers with this real strength of movement.

But regrettably we found that since the leadership of the Soviet Party and state were usurped by the revisionists starting from Khrushchev through Brezhnev up to the present leaders, they completely abandoned this revolutionary understanding of the problem of war and peace in the present international situation as also the revolutionary significance of peaceful co-existence. Instead of developing mighty peace movements of all peace loving forces and revolutionary movements, national liberation struggle as well as working class movement as the real bulwork of peace, the revisionists concentrated all their effort on holding peace-conferences and rallies here and there and manoeuvring peace talks, negotiations, detente etc. Instead of pursuing the policy of peaceful co-existence with the view to arresting the imperialist powers' aggression and intervention into revolutionary and freedom struggles of other countries they turned it into a policy of peaceful capitulation of socialist camp to all atrocious whims of the imperialist bloc. As a result of peace talks in Geneva, Paris, Helsinki, Rykjavik etc. the imperialist powers, which had found themselves totally concerned after the second world war and tottering at the rising tide of revolutionary and communist movement, could dare again to continue and even reinvigorate their aggressive activity. The US imperialism, which had been forced to withdraw from Laos, Kampuchea & Vietnam being defeated in all respects—militarily, politically and morally and in the late seventies was forced to opt for a peace manoeuvre has once again come up under the leadership of Reagan with its naked policy of aggression and subversion with threats of SDI (which is actually a scheme of launch-first offensive) against all anti-

imperialist and anti-capitalist revolutionary forces. The recent incidents of Grenada, Guatemala, Nicaragua, El Salvador and Honduras are blatant enough instances to open the eyes of anybody thinking otherwise. What result the last Washington treaty will yield can be easily deduced. At the summit, the issue of Central America was a subject of discussion and from the Soviet side assurance is said to have been given that it is not providing military help to Nicaragua.

THE BALANCE SHEET OF THE TREATY

Under the present circumstances, while recognising the ultimate ineffectuality of such treaty from the view point of the peace-loving forces, one may wonder why the Reagan administration concended to such an agreement? Is it going to switch over again to a peace policy? It has been speculated in the Western press that Mr. Reagan wants to refurbish his image as a champion of peace instead of as the chieftain of world gangsterism before he steps down from office. A false hope is also being aired that the war-mongers are going to succumb to the popular pressure for peace and disarmament in Europe as well as in other parts of the globe. But a critical probe will unearth the real design of the US imperialism in signing the treaty.

It has been reported in the press that Reagan was guided by his personal ambition of leaving an image of a champion of peace in history. Reagan will be known for changing the US foreign policy to blatant military aggressions and interventions. Under his presidency, the US switched from peace manoeuvre to war manoeuvre and in an imperialist-capitalist country the official policy is not determined by an individual's whims.

Obviously, the immediate reasons for the treaty, the ground for which was being made since the Rykjavik summit, can be traced to some objective factors. First, heavy expenditure on the military head by the Reagan administration calculated to be an artificial stimulant to the sagging US economy turned to be a boomerang

by causing heavy budget deficit, devaluation of dollar and, last of all, the Wall Street crash due to excessive speculative boom in stock market. Even Mrs. Margaret Thatcher of Great Britain, a staunch supporter of Reagan's policies, was urging the American President to cut down budget deficit. The Senate sub-committee also recommended cut back in budget by twenty three million dollars. Within the USA also a strong public opinion was being mobilised against the colossal Star War effort and consequent sky-rocketing military budget for which almost all public welfare projects had been drastically curtailed or cancelled altogether. About 6,500 scientists and scholars issued an open declaration last year declaiming the war machination of the Reagan administration and proclaimed that they would not participate in any nuclear war research projects any more. Naturally Reagan was, therefore, bound to pacify this anti-war movement by such move growing within the country.

Secondly, Reagan by a shrewd move chose to disown the responsibility of providing nuclear umbrella to his European allies, who have again developed as the competitors in world market. The US policy makers want to shift the burden of military expenditure on to its European allies in order to blunt its edge of competition in the world market to a certain extent. Behind this move is also an effort to enter into the market of the USSR. So, by this treaty, militarisation of economy of the European countries and increase in their nuclear armament are not prevented.

Thirdly, for the USA the INF were now reduced to an unnecessary economic burden from the standpoint of logistic advantage as well as cost benefit calculation. But it perhaps required an honourable situation where it could shed off this unnecessary drag on its defence economy so that nobody may think it is retreating at the pressure of the Soviet camp or pro-peace forces. This treaty therefore, offers it a good opportunity to fulfil this object.

(Contd. on page 8)

PRINCIPLES OF PARTY ORGANISATION

(Contd. from page 3)

IMPORTANCE OF FACTORY CELLS

12. Communist nuclei must be formed for the daily work in the different branches of the Party activities; for timely agitation, for Party study, for newspaper work, for the distribution of literary matter, for information service, for constant service, etc.

The Communist nuclei are the kernel groups for the daily Communist work in the factories and workshops, in the trade unions, in the proletarian associations, in military units, etc. wherever there are at least several members or candidates for membership in the Communist Party. If there are a greater number of Party members in the same factory or in the same union, etc., then the nucleus is enlarged into a fraction and its work is directed to the kernel group.

Should it be necessary to form a wider opposition fraction or to take part in existing one, then the Communists should try to take the leadership in it through special nucleus. Whether a Communist nucleus is to come out in the open, as far as its own surroundings are concerned, or even before the general public, will depend on the special conditions of the case after a serious study of the dangers and the advantages thereof.

13. The introduction of general obligatory work in the Party and the organisation of these small working groups is an especially difficult task for Communist mass parties. It cannot be carried out all at once; it demands unwearied perseverance, mature consideration and much energy.

It is especially important that *this new form of organisation* should be carried out from the very beginning with care and mature consideration. It would be an easy matter to divide all the members in each organisation according to a formal scheme into small nuclei and groups and to call these latter at once to the general daily Party work. Such a beginning would be worse than no beginning at all; it would only call forth discontent and aversion among the Party members towards these important innovations.

HOW TO BUILD COMMUNIST CELLS

It is recommended that the Party should take counsel with several capable organisers who are also convinced and inspired Communists, and thoroughly acquainted with the state of the movement in the various centres of the country, and work out a detailed foundation for the introduction of these innovations. After that trained organisers or organising committees must take up the work on the spot, elect the first leaders of the groups and conduct the first steps of the work. All the organisations, working groups, nuclei and individual members must then receive concrete, precisely defined tasks presented in such a way as to at once appear to them to be useful, desirable and capable of execution. Wherever it may be necessary they must be shown by practical demonstrations in what way these tasks are to be carried out. They must be warned at the same time of the false steps especially to be avoided.

14. This work of re-organisation must be carried out in practice step by step. In the beginning too many nuclei or groups of workers should not be formed in the local organisation. It must first be proved in small cases that

the nuclei formed in separated important factories and trade unions are functioning properly and that the necessary groups of workers have been formed also in the other chief branches of the Party activities and have in some degree become consolidated (for instance, in the information, communication, women's movement, or agitation department, newspaper work, unemployment movement, etc.). Before the new organisation apparatus will have acquired a certain practice the old frames of the organisation should not be heedlessly broken up. At the same time this fundamental task of the Communist organisation work must be carried out everywhere with the greatest energy. This places great demands not only on a legalised Party, but also on every unlegalised Party.

Until widespread network of Communist nuclei, fractions and groups of workers will be at work at all central points of the proletarian class struggle, until every member of the Party will be doing his share of the daily revolutionary work and this will have become natural and habitual for the members, the Party can allow itself no rest in its strenuous labours for the carrying out of this task.

CHECKING UP

15. This fundamental organisational task imposes upon the leading Party organs the obligation of constantly directing and exercising a systematic influence over the Party work. This requires manifold exertion on the part of those comrades who are active in the leadership of their organisations of the Party. Those in charge of Communist activity must not only see to it that comrades—men and women—should be engaged in Party work in general, they must help and direct such work systematically and with practical knowledge of the business with a precise orientation in regard to special conditions. They must also endeavour to find out any mistake committed in their own activities on the basis of experience, constantly improving the methods of work and not forgetting for a moment the object of the struggle.

REPORTING FROM TOP TO BOTTOM—KEY TASK OF LEADERSHIP

16. Our whole Party work consists either of direct struggles on theoretical or practical grounds or of preparation for the struggle. The specialisation of this work has been very defective up to now. There are quite important branches in which the activity of the Party has been only occasional. For the lawful parties have done little in the matter of combating against secret service men. The instructing of our Party comrades has been carried on as a rule, only casually, as a secondary matter and so superficially that the greater part of the most important resolutions of the Party, even the Party programme and the resolutions of the Communist International have remained unknown to the large strata of the membership. The instruction work must be carried on methodically and unceasingly through the whole system of the Party organisation in all the working committees of the Parties in order to obtain an ever-higher degree of specialisation.

17. To the duties of the Communist activity belongs also that of submitting reports. This is the duty of all the organisations and organs of the Party as well as every individual member. There must be general reports made

(Contd. on page 7)

PRINCIPLES OF PARTY ORGANISATION

(Contd. from page 6)

covering short periods of time. **Special reports** must be made on the work of special committees of the Party. It is essential to make the work of reporting so systematic that it should become an established procedure as the best tradition of the Communist movement.

EVERY ORGANISATION REPORTS TO ITS LEADING COMMITTEE

18. The Party must hand in its **quarterly report** to the leading body of the Communist International. Each organisation in the Party has to hand in its report to the next leading committee (for instance, **monthly report** of the local branches to the corresponding Party committee)

Each nucleus, fraction and group of workers must send its report to the Party organ under whose leadership it is placed. The individual members must hand in their reports to the nucleus or group of workers (respectively to the leader) to which he belongs, and on the carrying out of some special charge to the Party organ from which the order was received. ri'Ou

The report must always be made on the first opportunity. It is to be made by word of mouth, unless the Party or the person who had given the order demands written report. The reports must be concise and to the point. The receiver of the report is responsible for having such communication as cannot be published without harm kept in safe custody and that important reports be sent in without delay, to the corresponding Party organ.

HOW TO REPORT

19. All these reports must naturally be limited to the account of what the reporter has done himself. They must contain also information on such circumstances which may have come to light during the course of the work and which have a certain significance for our struggle, particularly such considerations as may give rise to a modification or improvement of our future work, also proposals for improvement necessity for which may have made itself felt during the work, must be included in the report.

In all Communist nuclei, fractions and groups of workers, all reports, both those which have been handed into them and those that they have to send, must be thoroughly discussed. Such discussions must become a regular habit.

Care must be taken in the nuclei and groups of workers that individual Party members or groups of members be regularly charged with observing and reporting on hostile organisations, especially with regard to the petty-bourgeois workers' organisations and chiefly the organisation of the "socialist" parties.

IV. ON PROPAGANDA AND AGITATION

OUR PROPAGANDA IS REVOLUTIONARY

20. Our chief general duty to the open revolutionary struggle is to carry on revolutionary propaganda and agitation. This work and its organisation is still, in the main, being conducted in the old formal manner, by means of casual speeches at the mass meetings and without special

care for the concrete revolutionary substance of the speeches and writings.

Communist propaganda and agitation must be made to take root in the very midst of the workers, out of their common interests and aspirations, and especially out of their common struggles.

The most important point to remember is—*That Communist propaganda must be of a revolutionary character.* Therefore, the Communist watchword (slogans) and the whole Communist attitude towards concrete questions must receive our special attention and consideration.

In order to achieve that correct attitude, not only the professional propagandists and agitators but also all other Party members must be carefully instructed.

FORMS OF PROPAGANDA AND SLOGANS

21. The principal forms of Communist propaganda are :

- (i) Individual verbal propaganda.
- (ii) Participation in the industrial and political labour movement.
- (iii) Propaganda through the Party Press and distribution of literature. Every member of a legal and illegal Party is to participate regularly in one or the other of these forms of propaganda.

Individual propaganda must take the form of systematic house to house canvassing by special groups of workers. Not a single house within the area of Party influence must be omitted from this canvassing. In larger towns a special organised outdoor campaign with posters and distribution of leaflets usually produce satisfactory results. In addition the fraction should carry on a regular personal agitation in the workshops accompanied by a distribution of literature.

In countries whose population contains national minorities, it is the duty of the Party to devote the necessary attention to propaganda and agitation among the proletarian strata of these minorities. *The propaganda and agitation must, of course, be conducted in the languages of the respective national minorities, for which purpose the Party must create the necessary special organs.*

22. In those capitalist countries where a large majority of the proletariat has not yet reached revolutionary consciousness, the Communist agitation must be constantly on the lookout for new forms of propaganda in order to meet these backward workers half-way and thus facilitate their entry into the revolutionary ranks. The Communist propaganda with its watchwords (slogans) must bring out the budding, unconscious, incomplete, vacillating and semi-bourgeois revolutionary tendencies which are struggling for supremacy with the bourgeois traditions and conceptions in the minds of workers.

At the same time, Communist propaganda must not rest content with the limited and confused demands or aspirations of the proletarian masses. These demands and expectations contain revolutionary germs and are a means of bringing the proletariat under the influence of Communist propaganda.

(To be concluded)

Novemeber Day observed at Jabalpur

Under the auspices of the Jabalpur District Organising Committee of SUCI, a meeting was held on 14th November 1987 evening to commemorate the 70th Anniversary of the Great November Revolution which illumined the path of the proletariat and toiling millions for complete emancipation from capitalist exploitation. The meeting started with garlanding the portraits of Comrade Lenin, the architect of November Revolution and Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great Marxist-Leninist thinker of the era, teacher, guide and Founder General Secretary of the SUCI, the only revolutionary party of Indian proletariat, by Comrade K. D. Sharma, a mass leader and member of the M.P. State Organising Committee of SUCI. He was present as the main speaker. Before the meeting started, the song on Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was sung by the Music Squad of the party.

In his inspiring speech Com. Sharma upheld that the purpose of observing an occasion like the November Revolution for a revolutionary party is to draw concrete lesson and apply it for the advancement of Indian revolution and not to observe it as a ritual as is being done by all the pseudo-Marxist parties in India like the CPI and the CPI (M) etc. While explaining the important aspects of November Revolution, basing on the brilliant analysis of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, Comrade Sharma showed that the necessity of revolution is not only for the economic upliftment of the poorest strata of the people alone as propagated by the pseudo-Marxists or the hirelings of the bourgeoisie, but also equally necessary for the mankind as a whole to live and to exist with full dignity as human beings worthy of the name.

Anti-Sati Movement by MSS at Jabalpur

Mahila Sanskritik Sangh, Jabalpur had participated in a joint movement with other women organisations in protest against the burning alive of Smt. Roop Kanwar of Deorala village, Rajasthan under the pretext of 'Sati', a religious barbarity. On 12th Nov. '87, volunteers of various women organisations rallied near the Collectorate at 11-00 A.M. and from there marched in procession to Circuit House No. 1 where the President of India, Shri R. Venkataraman was staying during his visit to Jabalpur, and submitted a memorandum. The memorandum inter alia demanded, in ad-

dition to treating the Deorala incident as a brutal murder and exemplary punishment to the killers, guaranteeing full protection and job privileges to the widows, ban of dowry and severe punishment to the perpetrators of dowry deaths and child marriages. Also, ban on obscene exhibition of women in films, magazines, posters and advertisements and punishment of the offenders was demanded. It is worth noting that despite existence of other women organisations in Jabalpur since long the recently formed MSS only could hold such a massive rally of volunteers in this movement.

ORISSA

UTUC (L S) Organise Mine Workers' Strike against Police terror

The iron and chrome ore mine workers of Sukinda valley in Orissa organised under the Sukinda Upatyaka Mine Workers' Union (affiliated to UTUC-LS) struck work on 3rd November protesting against the terror tactics of the management-administration-Cong(I) combine backed by armed police. The mine workers of Kalarangi, Sarnabil, Kamarada and Tanaka mines participated in the strike and the entire ore transportation system was also paralysed as the loading-unloading workers too joined the miners' strike.

Protest meetings were held at Kalarangi, Kamarada, Sarnabil and Tanaka mines condemning the Congress(I)-led government's role in deploying

huge force of armed police at Tanaka to terrorise the mine workers. The real intention in the movement of massive armed forces to 'keep peace' in the area was nothing but to protect the Congress(I) goondas assaulting the innocent mine workers and make them submit to the will of the contractors and management. Through this strike the workers gave a befitting rebuff to the mischievous design of the management-Congress (I) combine to break the morale of the workers and their fighting organisation, SUMWU. The government has been compelled to withdraw all the armed police battalions barring a single unit. The resistance struggle of the Tanaka and other mine workers continues.

KERALA

AIDSO Movement for Fine Art Students

The Fine Arts students of the state are on more than a month long movement in protest against the existing valueless diploma certificate course (ten plus two plus two) and for introduction of National Diploma Course (ten plus five) or degree course (twelve plus five). The Director of technical education of the state has refused to introduce these courses on the plea that this type of course does not exist anywhere in India. But students have pointed out that such courses are already in vogue in the M. S. University, Baroda, and in Viswa-Bharati in West Bengal. On November 20th the fine arts students organised a massive dharna before the State Secretariat Office to press their demands. The dharna was inaugurated by Com. B. Rajagopal, State Secretary of AIDSO and was addressed by comrades Parthasarathi Varma, Prasad, Suresh and others.

Gorbachev-Reagan Summit

(Contd. from page 5)

Another point also should be taken into consideration. The continuously developing arms technology reduces the earlier installed armaments relatively backward and outmoded after some definite intervals. This is true for both the US and Soviet sides. This is also the case with the intermediate-range nuclear missiles. So even from the military point of view, dismantling of the INF may have become a necessity for both, which made the treaty perhaps easily accomplished this time. Whatever may be the other necessities of the Soviet Union, from the point of view of economic developments — which every communist and progressive minded person

can well understand—this aspect of the treaty cannot be lost sight of.

Thus, it is clear to all, who see and think correctly and do not harbour any illusion, that the Washington treaty will hardly touch the real problem of peace and nuclear disarmament in the world in absence of any powerful peace movement today. We appeal to the Soviet leaders as well as leaders and rank and file of communist parties and the peace-loving people of the world to ponder over our analysis. We call upon them to build up peace movement in the right way which only can ensure fruitful peace talks and treaties and the real deterrent to war or war-like tensions.

In order to build up protracted movement to achieve their demands, the students organised a convention on 30th November at Mavelikkara Ravivarma Fine Arts Institute which was addressed by Com. V. Venugopal, the State President of AIDSO and other student leaders. The convention formed a state level Students' Action Committee and formulated the course of action. In pursuance of their action programmes, they staged road blocking at Mavelikkara Michel J N on 2nd December. On 9th December, hundreds of students courted arrest before the State Secretariat.

The Action Committee has decided to further strengthen the movement and to continue it till the demands are met.

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